THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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IRELAND--- ANOTHER ADVENTURE.

Something in the manner of a surprise Christmas stocking is promised Ireland by the Cabinet Committee now engaged in finding a "solution" for the Irish "problem." The 'Times' gives some of the guiding principles which this Committee has adopted, and which are regarded as assured of success.

As a good beginning, Ulster is not to be coerced in any form! A casual observer may think that Sir E. Carson naturally has brought pressure to bear on the Government to exempt his friends from any control by the "disloyal" element, but there is much more in these words than that.

The whole Province of Ulster is to be under an Ulster Parliament, whilst Leinster, Munster and Connaught are also to be granted a Parliament—no plebiscite is contemplated and county option is ruled out. Even those who possess the most elementary knowledge of the conditions prevailing in Ireland know that the population of Leinster, Munster and Connaught is fairly similar in polititics, although the Sinn Feiners and Nationalists may be disturbed by half a dozen Carsonites who can always take shelter under the wing of the Ulster Parliament.

When you examine the Province of Ulster, however, quite a different picture meets the eye. To begin with, at the last General Elections the Province of Ulster returned 10 Sinn Fein Members of Parliament, two of whom were unopposed. In addition to this fact, unsuccessful Sinn Fein candidates got 48,642 votes, and Belfast itself returned Joseph Devlin, Nationalist, as representative for the Falls Division of that city, Yet Ulster is not to be coerced, but what will be the fate of these people and the countless others who have rallied to Sinn Fein during the past year? Are they to be asked to accept what the "loyal" population thinks good for them? For that is the meaning of the war-cry that "Ulster" is not to be coerced. All those who rail against intervention in Russia, merely because "you cannot enforce a Government on a country or a people from without," surely commit themselves to the same principle in the case of Ireland, and must oppose such legislation.

What are the broad facts of the case? Since the twelfth century Ireland has been undergoing the process of being "conquered" by England. In 1919 that process has been so "successful" that 50,000 or 70,000 soldiers have to be kept in the country to maintain "law and order." Incidentally policemen meet their death, victims of this despotism. The Parliament, which was elected by three-fourths of the people (assuming that 73 Sinn Fein members merely indicates that proportion) has been declared an illegal assembly by a foreign power called England, just as that same power designates the Soviet Government of Russia as non-representative of Russia, and wages war on it in order to stop its growth and curb its power. Self-determination has been demanded in the case of many countries during the Peace Conference, though these countries had in no instance thrown off the Government of the oppressor with such unanimity as was the case in Ireland. Yet when this contrast is made, the British Government replies that Ireland is a domestic question. Much domesticity there seems to be when one lands at Kingstown and sees the sentries posted everywhere with their fixed bayonets, and the barbed wire defences!

Yet the 'Times' is full of hope that the new solution is going to change everything—two Parliaments, dominated by a Council which would have delegates from both Parliaments, is the panacea suggested. Ireland would still have no power over finance, or peace or war. A measure on these lines may be introduced into the House of Commons before Christmas and the Home Rule Bill now on the Statute book scrapped. But who is to put the Irish point of view at Westminster, when her accredited representatives were elected on the condition that they would sit not at Westminster but at College Green! Legislation on these lines can only be classed as "interference in the internal affairs of another country," and Ireland will regard it in that light.

Legislation of one sort only is likely to gain favour with the Irish people, i.e. an order for the evacuation of the Army of occupation. Its maintenance in Ireland can only incense the people still more against British methods. There is no reason to maintain this Army, nor was there ever one unless it should be that Ireland is a good drilling ground and a plausible excuse to the world for delay in disbanding the Army.

M. O 'C.

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"LIBERTY" IN IRELAND.

The following are acts of aggression committed in Ireland by the Military and Police of the usurping English Government, as published in the daily Press, for weeks ending October 11th to 25th, 1919:—

* * *

Sixty-nine raids, 62 arrests, 16 courts-martial, 40 sentences, 96 armed assaults, 43 proclamations and suppressions, 2 suppressions of newspapers. Total 328.

* * *

A meeting of the Irish Transport Workers' Union was proclaimed in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.

* * *

While returning from the theatre with two friends, D. V. Rushton, an Englishman, was assaulted by a policeman. The policeman was striking a poor woman, when Rushton interfered. It was then he was assaulted by the policeman. Rushton was struck in the face several times, his glasses being smashed. Two other policemen stood by, impassive spectators of the whole affair.

* * *

The pig market at Tipperary was suppressed by armed police, who freed the pigs from the market pens, and drove them into the streets.

* * *

A proclamation has been issued applying further sections of the Coercion Act of 1887 to Dublin City and County. By these sections the English Crown is empowered to empanel special juries to secure a conviction or alternatively to transfer the trial to any other city or county in Ireland where a conviction could be more easily secured.

* * *

The police forces in Ireland are receiving instructions in the use of hand grenades and American automatic pistols. These weapons are being added to their usual equipment, which consists in batons, rifles, bayonets, and revolvers.

* * *

Twenty prisoners imprisoned on political charges were released in broken health from Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, where they had been eleven days in manacles night and day, and fourteen days in solitary confinement.

GERMANY UNDER THE BRITISH.

A German millionaire of Düren, named Schoeller, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the British Summary Court, according to a Reuter message. The offence given is that of insolence to a British officer, and failure to heat the rooms in his house where British officers were billeted. Imitation is the best form of flattery, and those who still love the Kaiser must be very flattered at the British imitation of the methods in vogue during his régime.

GERMANS JOIN THE RED ARMY.

It is reported from a reliable source that about 30,000 men of the Courland troops have gone over to the Red Army, and that the detachments of troops ready to retreat are, therefore, but small.—Berlin, November 1st (*Frankfort News.*)

MOONEY.

In the November issue of *Freedom* there appears an illuminative article on the "Mooney case." Much has been written about the trickery and base methods used to procure Mooney's conviction, and *Freedom* now publishes a Government exposé of the case and the scandalous methods put in practice.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of AMERICA.

Nathan Chabron, who is the delegate of the Communist Party of America to the coming Congress of the Third International at Moscow, writes from Stockholm on his way to Moscow, and gives us his version for the reason of the existence of a Communist Labour Party as well as a Communist Party in America.

Our readers will remember that in our issue of October 4th we published a letter from John Reed explaining the aims of the C.L.P.A. and also the programme of that Party, and now we are most pleased to be able to give the same publicity to the objects and aims of the Communist Party. According to the international secretary, Louis Fraina, the Party has already a membership of sixty thousand, whilst the Communist Labour Party is reported to number about thirty thousand, thus proving that Communism is rapidly gaining ground in America. For that reason alone the existence of both Communist parties should be extremely welcome, though, as we have hitherto remarked, there is more to be gained for the cause by unified action than by individual or divided efforts.

Nathan Chabron points out, as John Reed also did, that real difference does not exist between the C.P.A. and C.L.P.A.; and puts forward the unfortunate suggestion that the whole antagonism is purely personal, and not worthy of Communists. He denies that the C.P.A. comprises a preponderance of foreign-born elements, pointing out that very many "pure Americans" already belong to the C.P.A. The reason of such an accusation, if it may be regarded as such, lies doubtless in the fact that the Foreign Language Group, which was expelled from the old Socialist Party *because they were foreigners*, took the initiative in forming the C.P.A.

The programme of the C.P.A. which is here reproduced almost in its entirety, may differ in unessentials from that of the C.L.P. which was printed in our issue of October 4th, but in essentials there is no difference on *paper*. Of course, it is always the *work* and *methods* of a party which mar or make it, and, therefore, the "Dreadnought" is content to wait to pass adverse judgment until either section should betray the Communist cause.

Extract from Programme.

The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party, accordingly, in campaigns and elections, and in all its other activities, shall not co-operate with groups and parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, Labour Party, Non-Partisan League, People's Council, Municipal Ownership Leagues, etc.

A.—The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggle of the working class its major campaign, in order to develop an understanding of the strikes in relation to the overthrow of Capitalism.

B.—The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purpose of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications and action of the mass strike.

(1) The mass strikes are vital factors in the dynamic process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(2) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is latent the tendency towards the general mass strike which takes on a political character and develops the impulse towards proletarian dictatorship—all power to the workers.

(3) In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasise the necessity of maintaining industry by and for the workers and taking over by the workers of social functions usually discharged by the capitalist and the organs of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(4) Every local and district organisation of the party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory—the shop, the mill and the mine—and direct its agitation accordingly.

(5) Communist Party shop committees, consisting of members of the Communist Party, shall be organised wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other as a part of the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilise them for action against Capitalism in a crisis.

C.—The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionise the unions of the workers.

As against the trade unionism of the Federation of Labour and similar organisations, the Communist Party makes propaganda in industrial unionism and industrial union organisations, emphasising their revolutionary implications. Industrial unionism is not simply a means for the every-day struggle against Capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, and it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(1) The Communist Party recognises that the A.F.L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism. It is actually an enemy of the workers.

(2) Councils of workers shall be organised in the various shops as circumstances allow for the purpose of carrying on the industrial struggle among the workers in these unions, uniting and mobilising the militant elements; this council to be united in a central council wherever possible.

(3) It shall be the task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organisation, embracing the I.W.W., I.I.U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A.F.L. and the unorganised workers on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

D.—The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realise workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement developing analogous to the shop stewards of England. Those movements equally directed against the union bureaucracy should be related to the Communist movement.

E.—The unorganised, the unskilled workers, including the agricultural proletariat, constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial organisation and action.

F.—In close connection with the unskilled worker are the problems of the negro worker. The negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial question of the negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the negro problem but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the negro workers to unite them with all class conscious workers.

G.—The United States is developing aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the downfall of capitalism.

H.—The struggle against imperialism constitutes the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in our epoch. This struggle is necessarily an international one.

(1) The Communist Party proposes to work in close unity with the Communist International and its affiliated organisations for common action against imperialism.

(2) The Communist Party emphasises the common character of the struggle of workers of all nations, making necessary the solidarity of the workers of the world.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD are holding a **GRAND DANCE** in the WORKERS SOCIALIST CLUB,
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Fellow Workers,

Members of the I.W.W. are being persecuted in Australia, Canada and America for being loyal to the working class. Six thousand are in jail in America serving from 1 to 20 years. In Australia members are serving upwards to 15 years in jail. In Canada the law is 5 years for having an I.W.W. Card in your possession. Members are being deported from England back to other lands, and those depending on them left in London to starve. Others have been sent over from America and left at the landing stage with hardly any money at all, after serving a year or more in jail in the U.S.A; so that we are asking you to buy a ticket to help the deportees and those dependent on them.

"Propaganda Committee."

Foreign Notes.

The Moscow Soviet of National Defence, (according to 'L'Humanité,') has made the following decision: "In view of the critical position and great military danger of the country owing to the invasion of the White Guards, it has become necessary to concentrate all the forces of the Republic, and the Soviet of National Defence has decided to institute a twelve-hour working day with extra pay."

* * * *

At a meeting of the Samara Soviet it was decided to mobilise all the proletariat of Samara. The Mensheviki of Samara have unanimously declared themselves for the fight against Denikin.

* * * *

The "Vpered" ('Forward'), published in Lemberg (Eastern Galicia), writes that Denikin's violation of the sovereignty of the Kuban Republic has aroused the whole country. Cossack troops have concentrated in and near Ekaterinodar, and after wiping out Denikin's volunteers, have occupied Novo Rossiisk on the Black Sea. It is alleged that there is not a single detachment of Denikin's forces in the whole territory of Kuban. The anti Bolshevik Kuban Government has come to terms with Petlura who is fighting against both Denikin and the Bolsheviki.

* * *

Ukraine Revolt against Denikin's Rule.

"Folkets Dagblad Politiken" Oct. 22nd learns from the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission Stockholm, that the revolt against Denikin is spreading fast, especially in the governments of Kiev, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav and Tsiernschoff, and lately also in the Don district. At Rostoff there are organised strikes in all the factories. The railways can be run only with military help. There have been wholesale arrests of railwaymen and workers connected with the railways.

* * *

Scandinavian Anti-Militarists Deported from U.S.A.

According to a telegram from New York Mr. Lansing has informed Congress that Swedish and Norwegian diplomats have protested against the wholesale deportations of Scandinavians; 733 Swedes, 447 Norwegians and 53 Danes are said to be affected by the order of deportation. "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" states that a Swedish gentleman who has returned recently from America alleges that most of the deportees are men who were not yet naturalised when America entered the war and who claimed exemption as foreigners, but that there are many who refused to join up on Socialist or political grounds. All were told at the time that they were to be deported when the war was over.

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ELECTIONS IN ITALY. By H. K. Moderwell.

FLORENCE, OCT. 26TH.

The Bologna Congress of the Italian Socialist Party, which adopted the revolutionary "Maximalist" programme, but rejected the proposal of the extreme left to abstain from parliamentary elections, has not had the fatal affect on the Party which was predicted by many of the bourgeois journals. On the contrary the Party, entering the campaign for the election of a new Chamber of Deputies on November 16, has never been more compact and aggressive.

Shortly after the close of the Congress, the deputies of the conservative "Reformist" faction, which had urged temporary combination with the bourgeois parties for the securing of social reforms, issued a statement saying that although they considered themselves ill suited to carrying out the Maximalist programme of the Party, still they would accept nomination if their constituents insisted. At the same time the left or "Abstentionists" stated that they would remain in the Party and would refrain from urging an "Abstentionist" propaganda during the electoral campaign.

The Party then decided to nominate candidates of the various factions in proportion to the strength shown at Bologna, roughly, 12 for the Maximalists, to 4 for the Reformists, to one for the Abstentionists. The more outspoken of the Abstentionists could not very well accept parliamentary candidacies when they have urged complete abstention from participation in a bourgeois parliament. But the extreme revolutionary wing is nevertheless well represented in the electoral lists. Many of the candidates are now in prison for opposition to militarism or for preaching revolution.

The conservatives are represented in their due proportion. But the nominations were made only after they had pledged their adherence to party discipline. There was a special need to exact this pledge, for the "Reformists," though consistently against the war, have shown a willingness to play the bourgeois parliamentary game which made them constantly unpopular with the rank and file. Turati, leader of the group, is commonly credited with an ambition to be Premier, an ambition which would very probably be fulfilled if he were able to keep the Party in reformist roads.

Another rock on which the bourgeois papers expected the Socialists to split was that paragraph in the Maximalist programme calling for the immediate creation of Workmen's Councils in anticipation of the expected revolution. The labor unions and the local 'chambers of labor' resented this, as an intimation that their usefulness was past. But this jealousy between the Party and the unions is by no means seriously endangering the co-operation of the political and industrial wings of the Italian labor movement. Not a single labor organisation has withdrawn its support as a consequence of the adoption of the Maximalist programme. The jealousy that exists is much rather that of the leaders than of the members of the two wings, who after all are one and the same. Further, the Maximalist programme by no means rules out the existing labor organisations as instruments of the revolution. Any of the local "chambers of labor" which accept the revolutionary programme (and most of them do) will doubtless become the "workmen's councils" demanded by the party. Some of them, indeed, seem at the present moment admirably adapted to assume legislative and executive power in a revolutionary period.

The differences within the Party, in short, are only those of any healthy political organization. Complete unity of action has been preserved. And this is not a patch-work unity, attained by verbal concessions, as is so often the case in the labour organizations of England and America. It is based on the conscious will of the overwhelming mass of the Party members, to which the leaders of all shades of opinions must submit.

Whatever the merits of the Abstentionist case, no solution could so well have preserved the fighting power of the Party as the one adopted at Bologna. If the Abstentionists had won the day, an important part of the Party would certainly have split off from the main body. Further, as the Maximalists pointed out, the "yellow" Socialists would have elbowed their way into the Chamber of Deputies in the place of many revolutionists, and would have been able to mislead a large portion of the proletariat. Equally, if the Reformists had won, the Abstentionists would certainly have formed a separate Communist party. As it is, the Party is united under a programme which, whatever else may be said of it, is more revolutionary than that of any other majority Socialist Party in the world, save in Russia and Bulgaria. The purpose of the Party in taking part in the present elections is solely to keep out the yellow Socialists, and to make what revolutionary propaganda may be possible from the Chamber of Deputies. The candidates are pledged not to work in any way with the bourgeois parties or to attempt any palliative reforms for the working class by parliamentary means. No one who in any way supported the recent war is permitted to be a candidate.

The Parties opposing the Socialists are all more or less divided and weakened by personal quarrels. Of the Conservatives, (who call themselves "Liberals"), there is one wing which sees the need of reforming the present constitution if the Italian bourgeois and landowning class is to befool the workers any longer. This wing is opposed by the never-say-die Tories, and neither wing knows what to do to rescue Italy from the economic ruin which is facing it as a result of the war. The Clericals (calling themselves the "Popular Party") are better disciplined; but nevertheless are suffering from serious internal dissensions. Their greater weakness lies in the fact that they are facing a critical situation in the country and cannot offer a programme to meet it. They will of course receive the votes that are blindly at the control of the local priests, but they will need more than their old vague phrases to satisfy the demands of men actually suffering from hunger.

The "yellow" pro-war Socialists (or rather ex-Socialists for they were long ago expelled from the Party), have become raving nationalists of the d'Annunzio type, and are seeking to place themselves at the head of all the liberal groups and harmless reform parties. Their chief support is in the votes of these veterans of the war who were organised, semi-officially, into "Veterans' Associations." (These associations are admitted to be mere instruments of the rich merchant and industrialists to combat the labor movement, but it was a shrewd stroke to turn them over to the leadership of pseudo Socialists). Unfortunately for them the various liberals and reformers are fighting over who shall hold office, and the fortunes of the new Party are very shaky. More important, the Socialists have formed Leagues of Proletarian Veterans in each city, and these are assuming enormous proportions. The bourgeoisie will not be able, as it had hoped, to control the whole "Khaki vote" for its own private purposes.

The Socialist Party of Italy expects to increase the number of its deputies from 42 to more than a hundred. But it does not in the least expect that the revolution will be accomplished by parliamentary means. It looks for no revolution this winter and based its action on that assumption. But it does expect the revolution to come speedily. If the Russian Soviet Government holds through the winter, as at present seems certain, Europe will face a new revolutionary phase next spring. The men at present directing its destinies cannot possibly solve the economic and financial problems which will confront them. The crisis which will meet Italy in the spring will be one of revolutionary character.

This is the analysis made by the Italian Socialist Party. Though it is trying its hardest to win as many seats as possible in the next Chamber of Deputies, it considers the present electoral campaign as nothing more than a dress parade of the Italian proletariat. Its more important work is being done outside the parliamentary field, in building and strengthening the workers' own economic organisations, and in gaining a secure Communist majority within them. When the moment of revolution comes, these deputies will be the first to declare the Chamber a thing of the past. The power will pass to the organs of the workers themselves.

THE AALAND ISLANDS.

The text of a note of protest on the Aaland question sent by Tchicherin on behalf of Soviet Russia to the Foreign Offices of London, Paris, Rome, Washington, and Tokio, is reproduced in the *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, October 25th. Tchicherin, having learnt through telegrams that the principal Entente nations are to settle the fate of the Aaland Islands and award them either to Sweden or to Finland, points out that there is as yet no treaty between Russia and Finland, and that the boundaries have never been defined. Therefore, Finland's right to the islands cannot be acknowledged without the sanction of Russia, and still less can they be given to Sweden without Russia's consent. While reiterating that Soviet Russia does not intend to violate the great principle of self-determination, and does not wish to force any part of old Russia into its rule, he protests against the Great Powers usurping the right to dispose of any territory, once Russian, against the will of the people concerned, and without ascertaining what is the wish of its working-class population.

He finally declares on behalf of his Government that no arbitrary disposal of the Aaland Islands will be sanctioned, and that Russia will declare any such disposal as illegal, and, therefore, not binding.

It will be remembered that Clemenceau, some time ago, was said to have awarded the islands to Sweden on condition that Sweden joined the blockade. Now comes the telegram (see *Daily Herald* of November 2nd) that Clemenceau offers them to Finland as a bribe for sending an army to the help of Yudenitch.

SWAN SONG.

"Cling to Parliamentary institutions because the only substitute is Soviet institutions." Words spoken by the Lord Chancellor at the dinner of the Worshipful Company of Weavers.

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The Italian Trade Union Movemént and The Camera del Lavoro.

The Italian Trade and Industrial Unions were originally started by the Socialist Party. The membership of the Unions is now greater than that of the Party. In Milan there are 1,200 members of the Socialist Party and 120,000 members of the Unions.* Nevertheless the Party still retains great influence with the Unions, and it is highly important to notice that **in the case of a strike for a political object it is the Socialist Party which calls the strike.**

Though the Italian Parliament sits at Rome, the headquarters of the Italian workers' organisations both political and industrial, are in the industrial city of Milan.

Every working-class centre has its workers' house, called the Camera del Lavoro, and the Milan Camera del Lavoro is the largest of all. It contains 90 offices for the Unions, in which the names of the organised workers are indexed in card files. As far as possible each Union has its own office, but as there are more than 90 Unions, two Unions are in some cases obliged to share a room.

In the Camera del Lavoro building there is a fine theatre which accommodates two thousand people sitting, or ten thousand standing: it is a common thing for the audience to stand at indoor meetings in Italy, in order that more people may be present. The theatre is used as a rule for meetings but at present is monopolised by the actors who are on strike and who have covered the walls of Milan with pictorial posters advertising that fact, and portraying the fat theatrical profiteer exploiting the lean theatrical workers, who proclaim themselves as members of the working class.

Attached to the Camera del Lavoro is a large professional school, where boys and girls may learn the technique of weaving, carpentering, bookbinding, engineering, and all sorts of trades and crafts. In view of the approach of the Workers' Revolution in Italy, it is interesting to learn that the work of providing technical education for the people, which in Britain was first started by public-spirited private individuals and is now undertaken by the Municipality, is in Italy already carried on by the workers' own industrial organisations. The Camera del Lavoro itself provides one-third of the cost of the professional school, the Unions one-third, and the Municipality makes a further grant of one-third. The Camera is assisted in its work by the fact that some years ago a certain rich man called Lona left a fortune of 30,000,000 lire for the benefit of the workers; for eight years there was a squabble as to the use to which this money should be put. During these years the interest on the money accumulated. Afterwards a Committee was formed for administering the fortune on which the Socialists have always had the preponderating voice. The money is used to assist the industrial movement of the workers in all parts of Italy and to provide professional schools and so on.

During the war the Camera del Lavoro also took to manufacturing and selling on its own account, so that the Italian workers have already had a good deal of experience in the control of industry.

The General Council and Executive of the Trade Unions.

The structure of the Italian trade and industrial organisations approximates in some respects to that of the Soviets. It is a structure at once more closely knit and more easily controlled by the rank and file than is that of the British Trade Union movement.

Each Union has of course its own special Executive Committee numbering 7, 9, or 11, according to the will of the Union members.

There is a General Council of the Unions, to which each Union may appoint one delegate for every hundred members, fifty being the minimum membership for securing one delegate. Hitherto the General Council has elected the Executive, which consists of 15 members, but more advanced elements were dissatisfied with this method; therefore at the last election the Executive was directly elected by the whole membership. The result was that the more advanced representatives lost their places and the more reactionary element captured every seat. The reason was that probably, in the main, the reactionaries are the older orators, who are known throughout the country: whereas the younger people, with the newer ideas, are doing the local spade work: and thus being only known locally, they cannot capture a national majority. On the other hand the members of the General Council, who have personal contact with each other, are able to recognise each other's qualities, and when the Executive was elected by the General Council, it was representing a body which was able really to supervise its work. Those who imagine that the Soviet system is not democratic, because it is a system of committees which elect other committees, should bear this in mind.

The Executive Committee of the Italian General Council of Unions elects its own secretary and staff.

Though each Union has its own Executive and manages its own affairs, it is recognised that strikes are liable to affect, not only the trade or industry in which the strikers are employed, but many others beside. Therefore the central body is consulted in the case of important strikes. Sometimes the Executive can decide the matter, but frequently the General Council is summoned. Five General Councils were held in connection with the great strike of the metal workers. We were told that the unofficial strikes, which are so common in Britain, do not take place among the organised workers of Italy. The unorganised workers, however, often have spontaneous strikes; but usually after a few days they apply to the Camera del Lavoro for aid, and thus they become organised.

Workshop Committees.

During the war an organisation called the Internal Commission was set up to facilitate production under the Committees of Mobilisation. The Internal Commission consisted of workshop committees composed of workers' delegates in the proportion of one delegate per hundred workers, some technicians, and a military president. At first these Committees only discussed matters of factory discipline, but later practical questions of the organisation of the work, supplies of materials, costings, and so on, came before them. The workers' representatives constantly induced these wider discussions and thereby learnt many things. They discovered, for instance, that in the leather industry the wages amounted to only 7 per cent on the cost, and they were soon able to discuss wages with their employers with a knowledge they had never hitherto possessed. Now that the war is over, the Committee on Mobilisation has relaxed its hold on industry, the military president and the technicians have retired from the Internal Commission, but the workshop Committees remain and now carry on negotiations with the employers in conjunction with the Trade Union officials. The Workshop Committees were largely controlling the industry during the war; they have retained as much as possible of their old power, and are waiting to take complete control when the Revolution comes. Theirs is a story quite opposite to that of the British Munitions Tribunals, though the intention of the Italian Government in setting up the Internal Commission was precisely that of the British Government. But whilst the British Trade Unionists were Jingo "Social Patriots," their Italian contemporaries were class war Socialists — in that lies the difference!

Workers in small unorganised trades, are sometimes afraid to ask the Camera del Lavoro to assist them, lest they should be dismissed. During the war this fear was accentuated, because the Camera del Lavoro opposed the war. Therefore the Camera del Lavoro, without any application from the workers concerned, brought the conditions in many ill-paid trades before the Committees on Mobilisation and the Internal Commission, and demanded improvements. If these were refused the facts were brought before the workers, and they were urged to make the same demands.

The workers in the weaker trades are also assisted by the Camera to form benefit societies for sickness and accident. (As we pointed out in a previous article, Italian Trade and Industrial Unions do not undertake friendly insurance: this is done by Societies specially formed for the purpose. The Trade and Industrial Unions are fighting organisations for improving the status of the worker in the industry.) With the assistance of the Camera del Lavoro, if the worker pays 50 centesimi‡ a day to the Trade Union, and out of that 1 lira 50 centesimi per month is paid to the benefit society, then the worker can get 2 lire a day sick or accident benefit after six months' membership.

Scavengers and other casual workers were long unorganised because of their fluctuating trade. Now each group of workers among the casuals elects a representative, who collects the subscriptions and takes them to the Camera del Lavoro, where the members' names, with particulars regarding their payments, etc., are kept in card files. Anyone can go to the Camera, and, by consulting the file, can see just where he stands and whether his dues have been paid. The collector receives his travelling expenses and a small donation at the end of his term of office and the workers are spared the expense of a treasurer and secretary.

Continued on Page 1538

*In the whole of Italy there are now 1,300,000 Trade Unionists; there were less than 300,000 in December, 1918, as the membership greatly declined during the war. The Socialist Party has 87,000 members in Italy. The "Avanti!" has a circulation of 300,000 daily.

‡There are 100 centesimi in a lira, which is worth about 9d. in English money.

PEACE WITH RUSSIA: Lloyd George v. Bonar Law & Co.

As has become customary during the Premiership of Lloyd George, statements of policy are made by him at feasts of some sort, and not in the House of Commons. It would have been nothing very unusual for Mr. Lloyd George to have made his statement on November 5th on the occasion of the Russian Debate instead of at the Lord Mayor's banquet, but that may have been thought undiplomatic: it would not have been so easy to ignore a statement made in Parliament. However, we now know that the Prime Minister means to be able to keep in with both sides; the interventionists and the anti-interventionists: for in his speech on November 8th at the Guildhall he said:—

"I say quite frankly I do not like the outlook in Russia. A few weeks ago there was a prospect of an early issue. It was distinctly promising. To-day the indications point to a more prolonged and sanguinary struggle."

These words give interventionists hopes of continuing their game in Russia; and those who want to believe that Lloyd George "would if he could" will find solace in his hint of approaching the Soviet Government when he said:—

"Civilisation cannot afford a distracted and desolate Russia. The Supreme Council of the Allies early this year made an effort to organise peace amongst the warring sections and afford the Russian people an opportunity of deciding for themselves by peaceable means in what way they desired to be governed. Unfortunately no section in Russia was ready; all were bent on conquest. I hope the time is not distant when the Powers will be able to renew that attempt with a better prospect of success."

Just now a great change may be noticed in the Press of this country; we have the *Daily News* and the *Daily Express* advocating the winding up of the "Russian tangle." To work for that end the *Daily Express* has published a series of articles by Colonel Malone, M.P., recently returned from Soviet Russia. He declares himself an independent observer, and not an admirer of Bolshevism, yet his articles, his speech in the House, all prove that Bolshevik Russia has accomplished great feats of reconstruction, whilst fighting on nine fronts and undergoing the rigours and hardships of a blockade. Colonel Malone does more than circulate favourable reports about the Soviet régime in anti-Bolshevik quarters; he has been instrumental in making the *Times* publish in full Lenin's Peace Terms, which Colonel Malone brought to this country! These terms are almost identical with those which Mr. Bullitt brought to Paris in the spring and which the DREADNOUGHT printed in full in its issue of October 11th, 1919. It is stated that these terms may be accepted as a basis for negotiations with Soviet Russia, the time limit given being November 15th; after that date the hint is made that Germany may be invited to negotiate should the Allies maintain their attitude of insolent silence.

Mr. Lloyd George, in view of the fact that some non-Socialist papers are against intervention, now wishes to gull people, and tell them that it was the Allies who tried to make peace, and who offered to confer with the Russians at Prinkipo, but the Russians were not ready. The monarchist Russians who were in Paris last spring were not ready; but the Bolsheviks did not even know that they were invited!

Colonel Malone maintains, and his statement is borne out by notes from Tchitcherin, that the Soviet Government got no invitation to Prinkipo. In the *Daily Herald* of November 11th, Tchitcherin's statement is reprinted, in which he admits that rumours through the Press reached them of the Prinkipo plan; but the Soviet Government overlooks the discourtesy which caused the invitation to be intercepted, and readily responds to the suggestion of negotiations. All those whose "interests" are involved in Russia cry out through their mediums, *The Times*, *The Morning Post*, Mr. Bonar Law, &c., that Lloyd George is being won over by the Bolsheviks: that he is in the act of betraying "our friends" in Russia. This outcry in the House of Commons has already forced a promise from Mr. Bonar Law to the effect that no action will be taken without consulting the wishes of the House! But who consulted the wishes of the House, or of the people, for that matter when the question of making war on Soviet Russia was in the balance? Now, when after these years of cruel and unjustified bloodshed even the rumour that other methods besides those of the sword may be used, the investors and dividend hunters are up in arms!

Peace with Soviet Russia has become the sole immediate wish of all true Socialists; yet the Guildhall speech of that arch-prevaricator brings little hope of that being accomplished *without* increased agitation on our part.

Just as in the early spring the ill-luck of the anti-Bolshevik campaign brought forth the Prinkipo proposals, the failure of Denikin and Yudenitch to capture either Moscow or Petrograd may force home the hopelessness of supporting the forlorn cause of the Czarists to Mr. Lloyd George again, and perhaps with better success. Yet one man in the Cabinet is not enough; the Cabinet as a whole must embark on a plan to make peace with Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Lloyd George may sneer as he will at the Press; but it is the condemnation of the Liberal Press of this prolonged campaign in Russia that helps to sway him now.

POLAND AS PEACEMAKER.

The Warsaw correspondent of the *Daily Herald* reports that the Polish Government is about to respond to the agitation of the Polish people against the war on Russia. It is a well-known fact that Poland has been compelled by the Allies to make war on Russia. Now, Warsaw is mentioned as the seat of a Conference to be held there on December 15th, provided that an armistice be declared on all fronts on the 25th of this month. All the Allies will be invited to send delegates to this Conference. This move is an excellent one, and should be worked for by us all. All the facts of the Russian situation are to-day much more widely known than they were last spring: most of the lies have been proved false; and the Bolsheviks have more supporters here than at that time. Therefore it is now a case of carrying this wave in the direction of peace on to a successful conclusion. This peace cannot be on the lines of Brest Litovsk or Versailles—the peoples of all countries must be represented.

M.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

TREATY SQUABBLE.

America is still deep in the debate on the Treaty; great divergencies of opinion exist, and are being used to complicate the position still more. In reality the Senators resent the high-handed way in which President Wilson acted in Paris; they wanted to be consulted and now they are having their own back so to speak. If the Treaty be adopted with reservations, the Entente will never know which way America will jump. The irony of the whole situation lies in the fact that President Wilson has been hailed as the man who planned the League of Nations, and now it will either come into being WITHOUT America, or fail to be realised. In the latter case the people of the world should lose no time in forming the real League of Peoples.

THE COAL STRIKE IN AMERICA.

There is no falling off in the unity and solidarity of the American coal strikers. Under appalling odds they have now withstood the employers, the Government, and the hostile element of the "public" for two weeks. It is now reported that the American Federation of Labour has issued a manifesto in which full support is promised to the miners. If the American Government does not retract from its arbitrary attitude, a general strike may be expected. Anarchist plots are being "discovered," with the result that raids on Communist premises and meetings are rampant.

According to a report widely circulated Marten's offices (the Bolshevik headquarters) in New York have been raided and many prisoners taken and literature seized.

Jim Larkin was also arrested as being implicated in an anarchist plot. He has since been released on bail: his offence was distributing the *Revolutionary Age*, an anarchist paper.

COAL PRICES.

Sir Auckland Geddes, by increasing the price of coal by 6/- per ton, has made a "mistake" in his calculations, and now the price of coal may be reduced. So it is not the fault of those "wicked" miners after all that coal is so dear!

A LAST EFFORT.

Members of the Cabinet are to tour the country; apparently they feel something must be done to save their position.

MORE PRODUCTION.

The cry of work, more production, and economy cannot be taken seriously so long as we are to witness such foolery as the Lord Mayor's show. There are now thirteen Labour Mayors, and it is to be hoped that in those boroughs where they reign all robes and pomp will be banished as belonging to the emblems of reaction.

* * *

The Administrative Commission of the C.G.T (General Confederation of Labour) according to *L'Humanite*, November 6th, on the instructions of a deputation of Paris trade unions, has decided to carry on a propaganda campaign through the whole country in order to create a wave of public opinion strong enough to force the Government to make peace with Soviet Russia.

The position of Russian civilians and military in France has been carefully considered, and the Administrative Council has instructed its bureau to continue its work in this connection in order to bring about the liberation of the Russians in France, some of whom are employed at road-making in Algeria under conditions of slavery.

GERMAN INDEPENDENTS.

Hugo Haase, who was recently attacked by a man, now declared to be insane, has died as a result of his wound. In him the German Independent Socialists have lost their leader. It was never more necessary than now for that Party to take decisive action, for the Majority Socialists have lost all idea of what Socialism means. This would not be so very deplorable were the Spartacists able to sway the Government; but recent events, such as the imprisoning of strike leaders prove that not to be the case.

Ledebour is mentioned as the successor of Haase; he is in favour of forming a Fourth International, as he tends towards Parliamentarianism whilst not seeing eye to eye with the reactionary Second International.

STRIKE DECISION.

In Paris at a delegate meeting of 200 trade unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, it was decided to strike to stop the war on Soviet Russia.

SADOUL CONDEMNED.

UNJUST TRIAL.

Captain J. Sadoul, who went to Russia with the French Mission and remained there in the service of the Bolsheviks, has been sentenced to death and military degradation by the Court martial which tried him in his absence. The sentence renders Captain Sadoul ineligible for election, and any votes cast in his favour will be lost.

In this way the French Republic shows its respect for fair-play. Captain Sadoul will only become more popular through this sentence.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"DUMPING"

Time was, Henry, when gushing young ladies sang—

"I'll ride about in a carriage and pair
With a king on my left hand side"

And now those once-young ladies,—developed by now into coy elderly spinsters no doubt,—have the chance of their lifetime.

The Royal Union of Royalties, regnant and cast-off, seems to have made this happy Isle their headquarters. And they have authority for their choice, for did not "Unser" Wilhelm Shakesp are write of "this royal throne of kings, this sceptred Isle; this earth of majesty, this seat of Mars; this other Eden, demi-Paradise"?

But truly, since the immortal William's time, Whitechapel has grown up, and this earth of majesty has become the seat of pa's as well of Mars. And the profiteers hold a lien on this precious gem set in a silver sea; it is as good as at Uncle's and the pawn ticket is in the strong-box of Finance, Capital and Co.

However, to our royalties, by your wayleaves. At present we have or have just had, the Shah of Persia and the King of Spain, the Queen of ditto and the Queen of Norway. And now we are having the Royal President of the French Republic of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Already the last named monarch has sent his gold, silver and diamond-studded plate over here for the sausage and mashed.

For the benefit of the Burglar's Union, the following is reproduced from the London "Star" (6th Nov. 1919).—

> "A convoy of seven vans, closely but unostentatiously guarded passed through the streets of London during the early hours of to-day, laden with the priceless service of gold and silver plate and Sèvres china of the Republic of France, which is to be used at the banquet which President Poincaré is giving next Tuesday at the French Embassy, Albert Gate."

How cheering it must be to France, in the throes of a shortage of everything, to know that her President cares so much about the workers that he is coming over here to dine at the French Embassy, and use his gold and silver plate.

Of one thing you may be sure, Henry, you won't get an invitation to that dinner.

What all these royalties are up to is not exactly clear, but the following may shed light upon a dark subject. In the course of an Open Letter to the Fat Boy of Persia, a certain Khivroun Melik (for correct pronunciation see back of dictionary), appeals to him "not to be influenced by any insincere display of hospitality by people who are grasping for dividends and who do not represent the people of Great Britain or their wishes."

Certainly, Khivroun old fellow, you speak true; His Majjie's Britannic Government forgot to consult me on the matter. But let Khiv proceed:—

> "He warns the Shah against putting Britain in possession of Persia's resources and giving her the control of the country before looking at the examples of British rule in India, Ireland, Egypt, and the persecution of these countries in their fight for self determination."

And it would not surprise me if the directors of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were forking out handsomely to entertain His Shahness,

At the present time, when the House of Commons goes into violent hysterics over the Aliens Bill, it is a great tribute to our shrewd logic to have all these royal pedlars peddling—and meddling—around. But Britain has ever been a favourite resort for aliens of the blue-black blooded variety.

Every shoolboy knows that the pure English breed of kings comes from William the Conqueror. (I may remark here in parentheses that the immortal Bard Wilhelm hereinbefore mentioned declaims that England never did and never shall lie at the proud foot of a conqueror; (so apparently he missed the history class at school). And William the Conqueror was a Norman. In the terms of "Once a Normhun, always a Normhun," we may dismiss all his descendants up to the House of Tudor as—Normans.

Now of course Tudor may be a pure British name for all I know, but Smith strikes me better. However let us skip that and we come to the Stuarts, who were of course not Irish. Then we have another conquering William, this time from Orange, which isn't the name of any railway station in the British Isles. And from that we pass on to the Williams and Georges of the Houses of Hanover and Brunswick, which are suspiciously near the Rhine.

This finally brings us to the House of Wettin or Guelph, now turned into the House of Windsor. And so let us raise our hats to the Windsors, fine English gentlemen all of 'em—and the ladies.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

PUBLIC MEETING

at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on

WEDNESDAY, 19th NOVEMBER, 1919,

at 7.30 p.m.

"The Birth of a New World"

Admission Free.

Lecture on

"The Importance of Christian Dogma to Socialists."

in Caxton Hall at 8 p.m.

Thursday, Nov. 20th.

"The Kingdom of God." The Rev. P. E. T. Widdrington. Rev. J. Symonds, Chairman.

Tickets—**Sixpence.**

Can be obtained at the door, and from the Secretary, Miss E. M. Alston, 1, Manor Place, Paddington, W. 2.

Italian Trade Unions. Continued from p. 1536

A rival to the Socialist industrial movement represented by the Camera del Lavoro, is the Partito Popolare Italiano, an anti-Socialist organisation assisted by the Church and the bourgeoisie. The influence of this organisation, which was strongest amongst the women and peasants, is waning. Its weakness was clearly manifest when it nominated twelve members for the Internal Commission in Milan and the nominees received but 11 votes, not even all the proposers voting for them. The Camera del Lavoro delegates were all elected.

Recently there occurred a strike of foremen and managers, owing to the pressure of the rising cost of living; 150,000 workers were thrown out of work by this strike, as the employers, being themselves often without the technical knowledge, could not carry on without these officials. In the course of this strike many trade secrets, proving that the country had been exploited by the capitalists, were revealed.

The workers' movement both political and industrial, is more centralised in Italy than in Britain. There appears to be neither the conflict of overlapping organisations, nor the multiplicity of independent unions for closely-allied trades, with which we are familiar.

Thus the workers in all the textile industries,—cotton, wool, and so on,—are in one union; and all the various trades within the industry, including dyeing, are covered by this union. As in Britain, the majority of the textile workers are women. We visited the office of the Textile Union in the Camera del Lavoro, and found that the officials in charge there were women. We noticed a portrait of Karl Marx on the wall, and were told that all the officials and active members were Socialists.

The women textile workers have not yet secured equal pay with the men. Under an agreement of July 1st last, women weavers get 3 lire a day; men 3.50; apprentices 1.35, and there are similar differences in other branches of the industry. In addition to the daily wage, the workers get a bonus for "caroviveri"—the high cost of living. Under this bonus, the men get 33 centesimi an hour, the women 28, and apprentices between 12 and 15 years get 26 centesimi an hour. The textile workers have recently won the 48-hour week: overtime is paid for at 40 per cent above the ordinary rates.

The highest wage for men in the industry seemed to be Lire 72.39 a week (between 55/- and 57/-) including caroviveri. Rents in Milan are lower than in London; a working-class flat, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, costs about 7/- a week. Bread is about the same price as in England, milk and fruit rather less, everything else much more costly Therefore it will be realised that the Italian workers are having a hard struggle to make ends meet. Women silk weavers, who are at present paid Lire 6.24 a day, including caroviveri for a 48-hour week, were recently paid only Lire 2.50 a day. They were on strike for a month to get their present rate.

The Industrial workers find when they are on strike that the soldiers are often hostile to them, because they believe that unrest among the workers retards their demobilisation. But it is very difficult for the soldiers to express themselves, and propaganda amongst the soldiers is also most difficult, for it is estimated that every fourth soldier in the Italian army is not a soldier at all but a policeman. He is dressed like the other soldiers and they are unable to recognise him as other than they, but he is ready to inform against them should they show any trace of leaning towards the popular cause, and they know that he is beside them, without knowing which is he. The soldier policemen are paid considerably more than the ordinary soldiers.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

—EVERYONE SHOULD READ—

FINNISH REVOLUTION.

By O. V. KUUSINEN.

A Self-Criticism. — **PRICE 3d.** —

From "The Workers' Socialist Federation, 400, Old Ford, Road, E. 3.

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

PUBLIC MEETING

400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.

Sunday, Nov. 23rd, at 7 p.m.

Miss McCARTHY: "Labour in NewZealand."

Discussion invited.

Admission by Silver Collection.

TIGHT BINDING.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

NOVEMBER 3RD.—The French and British, Mr. Forster acknowledged, are helping the Poles to fight against the Bolsheviks.

BRITISH FLEET IN BALTIC.

The cost of maintaining the British Fleet in the Baltic during July, August, and September was £800,000.

MR. GOODE'S ARREST.

November 4th.—Mr. Harmsworth followed the usual diplomatic plan of circulating the absurd report that Mr. Goode was arrested by the Esthonian Government. Apparently he wants to see how long the public can be pacified with this tale, and thus delay acknowleging who the real gaolers were.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

The blockade of the Soviet Government does not imply a state of war, even though the Soviet Government may interpret it to mean war; that is the rendering put on the present position by Mr. Harmsworth.

ALIENS.

Further debates took place on November 3rd and 4th on the Aliens Bill. Some light was thrown on the arrangement made with the recent defeaters of the Government when Clause 8 was reached. This Clause was, in the opinion of the Home Secretary, to be deleted; but now without any preliminaries the Government brought this Clause up for debate. It thus transpired that when the conference was held recently at Downing-street on the Pilotage Clause, Clause 8 *was* discussed, with the apparent result that the Alien hunters overruled the Government decision to drop Clause 8. This Clause aims at the deportation of all former enemy aliens who cannot show, amongst other things, that they volunteered or had children who volunteered for war service for any one of the Allied Powers; that they are seventy or over, and have lived at least fifteen years in the United Kingdom; that they have lived thirty-five years in this country, and married a British-born wife. This amiable Clause further asked that all who wished to continue to reside in this country should advertise the fact in their local newspaper. Luckily, this spiteful condition was ruled out by the vote of the House.

COAL CONTROLLER.

The House was fairly unanimous in condemning the appointment of Mr. Andrew Rae Duncan to the position of coal controller. The main objection was that he knew nothing of the trade; still, he is to be paid £2,300 a year for his services! Sir A. Geddes attaches no importance to a Coal Controller knowing anything about coal; this fact explains why the Government "authorities" make such naive blunders. The public has no objection to great men learning various businesses; but surely the apprenticeship should not be at the expense of the nation, nor should such generous salaries be paid during apprenticeship.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

November 5th.—The meeting between British representatives and the Soviet Government should take place very shortly, is Mr. Harmsworth's opinion. The subject of the meeting is the exchange of prisoners, but more is hoped from this meeting, which, if it now takes place, follows very closely on the recent Soviet peace offer.

CO-OPERATION.

Captain Bowyer (C. L.) called attention to a recent arrangement between the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement, by which the latter would become the agency for the distribution of food during strikes. Mr. Bonar Law explained that the Government would take the necessary steps to deal with such an arrangement should it be put into practice. Evidently, the Government disapproves of organisation of the food supply when the workers wish to do it, though during the recent rail strike we were wearied with the praises of the capitalist Press for the wonderful manner in which the Government organised the food supply!

WOMEN VERSUS SOLDIERS.

Women discharged as medically unfit from His Majesty's Forces are not to get pensions, as Mr. Forster stated: "It is not intended to propose that these women should be placed on the same footing as men." They merely get some paltry compensation; but what happens if they are totally incapacitated?

THE RUSSIAN WAR.

By moving that the Army estimates for 1919-20 be reduced by £15,000,000, Colonel Wedgwood (L.) opened the debate on intervention in Russia. In detailing the Vote on Account, Mr. Foster admitted that since the Armistice £94,830,000 had been spent on the Russian adventure. Colonel Wedgwood pointed out that this was twice the sum which had been spent on the Crimean War. He went on to ask why the Entente as a whole did not bear the burden of this enterprise. Endless atrocities of the anti-Bolsheviks were repeated; but with those who are fully cognisant of all the facts in Russia, Colonel Wedgwood rather spoiled his case by stating that: "Bolshevism means the tyranny of a minority over a majority." Colonel Ward, who has recently returned from Siberia, gave the House a glowing description of the rule of Koltchak. He condemned the suggestion of leaving Russia to her fate. The speech of the evening was surely that of Colonel Malone (C. L.), who, a few weeks ago, returned from Bolshevik Russia. In his opinion the British public would rise in revolt if it only knew the inside history of the Russian episode. He alleged that the reported fall of Petrograd was a ruse used in the market of speculation; that the report at the time was circulated so as to influence unfavourably the Peace Conference of the Baltic States. The stories circulated about the Bolsheviks in this country are grossly "exaggerated" and "untrue." Instead of the terrible chaos he was led to believe existed by those reports, he found the Bolshevik Government had accomplished great feats in almost all fields of reconstruction, although engaged in waging war on nine fronts. "Trams, trains, theatres, operas, and all the amenities of life are in full swing." Special theatres are open to children, and Colonel Malone himself visited some of these to make sure that the facts he was told were true, and he saw thousands of little children enjoying the plays. Special attention is being paid to the care of children, as all readers of the DREADNOUGHT already know. This testimony of Colonel Malone is the more valuable because of his impartial attitude towards the Bolsheviks.

PEACE WITH RUSSIA.

Peace with Russia is within the "scope of sound practical statesmanship," Colonel Malone declared, and he told the House that he was the bearer of proposals of peace similar to those which Mr. Bullitt brought to Paris last spring. In view of this, he said the blockade should be stopped, and the inhuman war brought to an end before it is too late. Mr. Churchill put up a defence for the Government tactics in Russia, the old story of deserting one's friends was rehashed, together with the story of what an injury the Bolsheviks had done to Russia. In his opinion the views of the Bolsheviks are far *greater than the representation of a single country. Their position, if it means anything, is an international position. . . . Their ideal is a world-wide proletariat revolution.* It may be good or it may be bad, but it has no connection with the Russian State or with the Russian nation which was our Ally when the war commenced." So now we know why Mr. Churchill feels so uncomfortable about the Bolsheviks, they are not terrorists as the Czar was, nor do they keep the people in ignorance and poverty as he did. The Czar's régime is apparently more to the liking of the British Government than any other rule in Russia, let it be ever so good! The whole debate was very ineffective, for when the amendment was put, the Government had a majority of 199.

INDUSTRIAL COURTS.

November 6th.—A Bill to establish Industrial Courts was read a second time. Together with the establishment of Courts which are to consist of representatives of the employers, the workers, and some "independent" persons, this Bill makes it illegal to reduce wages below the present level before September 30th, 1920. Naturally, this is a move likely to make workers imagine that the Government is looking after their interests: without any apparent reduction in wages the increased cost of living is making wages less every day. It is now officially admitted that food prices are 130 per cent. higher than in 1914. The Bill leaves an opening for increases to be demanded; but experience should show that where wages are concerned the minimum has an unhappy way of becoming a maximum.

M. O'C.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL COMMUNES IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The land policy of Soviet Russia, as is well known, is devoted to re-constructing agriculture on a Communist basis. Communism recognises the social working of the land, and the amalgamation of small peasant farms into united farms, as the only possible form of exploitation of the land. All separated farms situated near one another must be united into larger farms with common live stock and common land. Social needs, the sowing and gathering of corn, are done in common; agricultural products are collected together in one common store, etc. A fund of several milliards exists for supporting communal agriculture under the control of a committee, which freely subsidises the village, and keeps in close contact with it.

The telegrams received by the committee of this milliard fund prove the amazing swiftness of the growth of communal farms. On these farms in every province tens of thousands of people work.

In the district of Orel, there are 391 communal farms with 39,000 dessiatines* of land, and comprising a population of 29,000. In the province of Mohileff (or New Honel) there are 225 registered communal farms, with more than 11,000 inhabitants, and 40,000 dessiatines of land. In the province of Vitebsk there are about 214 communal farms, with 60,000 dess. of land, and a population of 60,000. In the Novgorod province there are 72 communal farms, with 11,376 inhabitants and 22,263 dessiat.

In the government of Kaluga there are 150 registered communal farms with 6,500 inhabitants and 12,000 dessiat. of land. At the beginning of 1920 there will be 300 communal farms there. Under the Government of Petrograd 230 communal farms have been organised, with 17,000 dessiatines and 15,313 inhabitants. It is proposed to organise 150 new communal farms with 9,000 dess. and 3,000 inhabitants. Under the government of Tula, there are 78 communal farms, with 8,554 dessiatines, and 5,466 inhabitants, etc.

The facts do not by any means cover the whole area, but they give an idea of how the peasants are adopting communal ways, thus disproving the various statements that the peasants are anti-Soviet.

*A dessiatine equals about 2¾ acres.

THE RED ARMY.

A recent report of the Political Education Department of the Soviet General Staff describes in detail the great educational work which is being done in the Red Army. This work is in the charge of the local sections of the Department, which are attached to all military district commissariats and to all units of the army throughout the country, including the front. In May last the 133 army units counted in their midst 64 centres of the Communist party, engaged in Socialist propaganda, 97 educational committees, 50 clubs, 27 elementary schools, as many reading rooms, and 63 lending libraries. Throughout the country attached to the Red Army in May last, were 1,014 libraries and reading rooms, 674 schools, 211 theatres, and 221 cinemas. In Moscow alone the Red Army clubs in the first three months of the present year were able to arrange 108 theatrical performances, 191 concerts, and 602 lectures. At every large junction station which the Red soldiers have to pass on their way to the front, literature is distributed, meetings are held, lectures are delivered, etc. Propaganda circles are attached to every unit, which carry the revolutionary agitation right into the camp of the enemy, with the result that whole regiments of the "Whites" not infrequently go over to the Soviet lines. Courses of instruction for the illiterate are held almost every day, and one Red Army has a moveable university attached to it at which lectures are delivered by members of the War Council, of the Political Education Department, etc. Nothing is left undone to permeate the Red soldiers with the Socialist and Revolutionary spirit, and to impart to them a clear understanding of the "war aims" of Soviet Russia. Of course, the Red Army gets all the papers which are published in Russia, but has several papers of its own, which enjoy great popularity, as the contributors are for the most part the soldiers themselves.

THEATRICAL WORLD.

A Moscow radio announces the re-opening of the winter season. At the Grand Opera the "Nibelungen Ring" and the "Masters-singers" are being given, and in the theatre such classics as Schiller's "Robbers," Shakespeare's "Othello," and Hugo's "Ernani" are performed. In other theatres the repertoire includes the entire scale of dramatic production from Lopez de Vega to Maeterlinck. The best seats are reserved for the workers and soldiers.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND ART.

The Copenhagen correspondent of *Le Populaire* (17/10/19) reports that the world-famous singer Chaliapin has been conferred the "Order of the Red Banner" by the Soviet Government. The order was founded by decree on September 20th, 1918.

[The People's Russian Information Bureau.]

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The universal compulsory service which the Soviet Government has felt obliged to introduce to cope with the internal and external danger to the Republic has raised in the minds of many sympathetic persons the fear lest Socialist Russia becomes "militarised."

How far this fear is justified is best seen from the treatment accorded by the Soviet military authorities to conscientious objectors.

In Russia, with her various religious sects (like the famous "Dukhobors" so cruelly treated under the Tsardom, the Tolstoyans, and others), conscientious objectors are perhaps as numerous as in this country.

The question of their position was raised early in the present year by M. Vladimir Tchertkoff, the present leader of the Tolstoyans, and one of the executors of the late Count Tolstoy's will, who is well known in this country, where he lived in exile for many years.

A formal petition on the subject was filed with the Council of People's Commissaries (the Government). After perusing it, Lenin (as now reported by M. Paul Birukoff in *Le Phare*) at once declared that, inasmuch as the Government was in principle itself anti-militarist, it could not possibly prosecute those who objected to military service. On January 4th the Council issued the following decree:—

DECREE RELATING TO EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE BY REASON OF RELIGIOUS SCRUPLES.

1. Persons who are prevented by their religious convictions from taking part in military service shall, on the finding of a national tribunal, perform instead some other service for their comrades, viz., medico-sanitary service—principally in hospitals for infectious diseases—or any other service of public utility at the option of the said persons.

2. In giving its judgment for substituting civil work for military service, the national tribunal shall obtain the expert evidence of the "United Council of Moscow Religious Groups and Communities" concerning each person separately. The expert evidence must show whether such and such religious conviction excludes the participation in military service, as well as bear witness to the sincerity and honesty of the person to be exempted.

3. In exceptional cases the above-mentioned United Council may enter a claim at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the total exemption of a person, without the substitution of any other service whatsoever, if able to prove by written documents on the question, and by the life hitherto led by the said person, that such a substitution would be incompatible with his religious convictions.

Supplementary.—Exemption may be claimed either by the person concerned or by the said United Council, which also may claim that the case be dealt with by the National Tribunal at Moscow.

(Signed) LENIN,
President of the Council of People's Commissaries.
KURSKY.
Peoples Commissary for Justice.

This decree also refutes the calumny sedulously spread by the Koltchakists and their Press in this country that the Soviet Government is prosecuting the Church and is oppressing religion (vide the recent articles of Mr. Hagbert Wright in the *Times*).

[The People's Russian Information Bureau.]

RAISE THE BLOCKADE AND STOP INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

The Battersea Branch of the Licensed Vehicle Workers passed the following resolutions at its last meeting, and we would urge other organisations to do the same:—

"We call upon the E.C. to bring the greatest pressure to bear upon the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee to see that they obey the mandate of the Trade Union Congress and call an immediate Conference to stop this damnable intervention and blockade of Soviet Russia."

"We, the members of the Battersea Branch of the L.P.U., demand to know in the interests of humanity if the Fight the Famine Council is protesting against the blockade of Soviet Russia, and if they are sending any supplies out of monies subscribed to the Council to that part of Russia controlled by the Soviets. We urge that no part of Europe suffering from famine shall be denied assistance, especially for political reasons, remembering that famine is famine, and humanity is humanity. We urge the E.C. to do their utmost to bring pressure upon all authorities of the various societies, and especially upon the Government, to bring about the substance of this resolution."

NEWSPAPER DILEMMA.

The newspaper workers of all categories in Paris have decided to strike. They demand an increase of five francs a day to meet the high cost of living, which is officially stated to have increased 148 per cent. on 1914 prices. The men also complain that editors have not agitated against high prices as promised. *La Presse Parisienne*, a capitalist sheet, is the only paper printed, and, if reports are true, it may be that the Socialist Press is silenced during the strike for the lack of paper.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements: One penny per word
Displayed advertisements: 7s. 6d. per inch.
Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

LADY Teacher, returned from Central Europe on health grounds, owing to famine, seeks employment at once. Any position of trust acceptable. Apply Box 50, Dreadnought, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster

READ
"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote? (Advert.)

'Phone: Central 3820. Established 1855
TOYE & CO,
57, THEOBALDS ROAD. LONDON, W.C.
Sole Manufacturer of
Banners and Flags for Demonstrations.
Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies.
Medals, Celluloid and Buttons.
Flags for Charity Collection Days.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Friday, 14th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd., Dalston Lane. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, 8th Nov. Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in the Waterloo Rd. Meetings near the "Old Vic," 3 and 7 p.m. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, and P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, 16th Nov. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, Whitechapel. Victor Beacham. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Saturday, 22nd Nov. Great Push in Greenwich.

INDOOR.

Sunday, 16th. November.
7.30 p.m.—20 Railway St., Poplar. DavidRamsay. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Monday, 17th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting.
8 p.m. Miss McCarthy, "Labour in New Zealand."

Wednesday, 19th Nov. 8 p.m. International Socialist Club, General Members' Meeting (London Section), 28, East Road, E.C.

Thursday, 20th Nov. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Mark Starr. Third Lecture on Industrial History, (Comparisons of Types of Workers.)

Friday, 21st Nov. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, 16th Nov. 12 noon—Victoria Park, Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, 18th Nov. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m.; Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, 20th Nov. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd., E.3. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, 18th Nov. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Miss McCarthy, "Labour in New Zealand."

East Ham League of Rights.

Tuesday, 18th Nov. 8 p.m., —Old Public Offices, Wakefield St. Miss A. E. Thomlinson.

OUR INTERNATIONAL FAIR.

The W.S.F. Christmas Fair will be held on December 5th and 6th in the Bunhill Row Memorial Buildings, Roscoe Street, E.C. Goods of all kinds, groceries, national costumes, materials for making up, Xmas cards, etc., are very urgently required and donations towards the expenses will be gratefully accepted. A working party is held on Saturdays and Sundays at the Nursery, 438, Old Ford Road, Bow, and anyone who would prefer to make things at home can obtain materials there. Contributions, offers of help, and applications for tickets should be sent to Joan Beauchamp, 7, South Square, Gray's Inn W.C.,

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GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

Donations already received for International Fair—
A Friend £2; E. M. Ellis £1; J. Watson Rowntree £1; Helen Peile £1; M. Widdicombe 10/-; A. Hersey 10/-; E. Forty 10/-; H. G. Chancellor 5/-; T. Whitehead 1/-.

SOUTHWARK HERALD LEAGUE

and Central London Council of Workers' Committee.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION

will be held on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd, at
Newington Public Hall, Manor Place, Walworth Rd. S. E.

Chair — J. TANNER, Ed. of "Solidarity."

Speakers:
J. T. Murphy, Sheffield; V. Beacham, C.H.L.; Miss E. S. Pankhurst, W.S.F.; D. Ramsay, C.L.C. S.S. & W. C.; J. Marston, N.U.P. & P. O.; Wm. McCartney, S. H. L.

River Thames Shop Stewards Orchestra, will attend and render selections during the evening.

Doors open 7 p.m., Chair taken at 7.30.

All seats free. Come early.

Wm. McCartney, Organiser,
26, Paisley Road, Manor Place, Walworth, S.E.

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